Beyond San Francisco—*Freda Kirchwey*

THE *Nation*

September 15, 1951

Peace or Blackmail

The U. N.'s Chance in the Middle East

BY LILLIE SHULTZ

*

Maverick from Maine

The Troubles of Margaret Chase Smith

BY DUNCAN AIKMAN

*

Setback for Labor Unity - - - *Willard Shelton*

Helsingör Peace Conference - *J. Alvarez del Vayo*

Malraux's Great Trilogy - - - *S. Lane Faison, Jr.*

Japan as Judah - - - - - - - - - - - - - *Kizo Kano*

SEP 17 1951

20 CENTS A COPY EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865 7 DOLLARS A YEAR

C. Sherrill Library
TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

For Your Convenience

THE *Nation* with

☐ Harper's Magazine . . $9.50

You Save $2.50

THE *Nation* with

☐ Consumer Reports . $10.75

You Save $1.25

These club combinations are for one year and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE *Nation by itself:*

☐ One Year $7 ☐ Two Years $12

☐ Three Years $17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE $5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra

The NATION
20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years. ☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

_____

_____

_____

NAME_____

STREET_____

CITY_____ ZONE____ STATE_____

9/15/51

SPECIAL NOTICE TO NATION READERS:

To Subscribers:

We are asking subscribers who wish to change their address to give us at least three weeks' notice, indicating the old as well as the new address.

If you will renew your subscription on receipt of the first notice of expiration, your cooperation will be much appreciated. It will help us simplify our record-keeping, saving us time and expense, and shield you from further renewal letters. At the same time you will avoid interruption in receiving *The Nation.*

To Newsstand Readers:

Since *The Nation* is distributed on key newsstands only, you may have difficulty in obtaining your copy. Therefore, the only certain way of getting *The Nation* regularly is to enter a subscription. By doing so you will not only be sure of receiving your copy promptly every week but save considerable money.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 173 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • SEPTEMBER 15, 1951 NUMBER 11

The Shape of Things

WE EXTEND PROFESSIONAL SYMPATHY, somewhat ruefully, to the *Reader's Digest* (circulation 15,000,000) which has been withdrawn from the 113 diocesan schools of the Catholic Diocese of Green Bay, Wisconsin for publication of an article in its July issue. The piece, entitled "Margaret Sanger: Mother of Planned Parenthood," described Mrs. Sanger's long fight in founding the birth-control movement, a saga long familiar to most of literate America. According to Monsignor Edward Westenberger, superintendent of schools in the diocese, "the article appeared to be one obviously 'ordered' by the editors and hence expressing the views of the *Reader's Digest*—views absolutely irreconcilable with the morality taught by Christ." He termed the article "unpatriotic, un-Christian, and vicious propaganda"—epithets that must have caused a shudder in Pleasantville. While this action is entirely intramural, banning a general magazine to students coming under the Catholic discipline, there are further implications in an editorial in the *Evangelist,* a Catholic weekly published in Albany. This editorial suggests letters of protest to the *Digest,* and adds: "If they fail to bring about a change in this offensive policy on the part of the magazine, then a cancellation of subscriptions will quickly convince the editors of the need of fair play."

✶

ANEURIN BEVAN'S REAL STRENGTH IN THE Labor Party is difficult to gauge from the motions passed at the Blackpool meeting of the Trade Union Congress. The system of bloc balloting—every delegate voting the whole membership of his union—rules out a popular referendum on any subject. Differences in the labor movement are supposed to be resolved in each union and only a majority view is registered at the annual conference. On this basis all the votes taken at Blackpool on such critical issues as East-West trade, the arms program, relations with Russia, the rearming of Germany and Japan strongly supported the government's policy. The vote was undoubtedly weighted even more heavily on the official side by the genuine desire of rank-and-file unionists to avoid any action which might bring down the government. Just the same, the popular strength of Bevan's position was indicated both by the attempts of the Attlee supporters to minimize it and by heated attacks on American interference with British trade and the revival, with United States subsidies, of Japanese and German competition. The unanimous vote for a strongly worded proposal to end diplomatic relations with fascist Spain gained added significance from the recent exchange of ambassadors, following last year's reversal of policy in the United Nations, and Washington's all-out program to rearm and rehabilitate the Franco regime. On this point, at least, British workers are united—although their views seem to have little effect on their government.

✶

BLACKPOOL, HOWEVER, WAS NO TEST. IT is at Scarborough, where the annual conference of the Labor Party will be held during the first week of October, that the basic issue posed by Bevan and his followers is likely to be fought out. That issue is not, as some American newspapers insist, the need for an effective defense program in Britain or for an alliance with the other Western powers; neither has been questioned by the Labor left-wingers. What they argue for is less emphasis on rearming and more on social services and economic stability. Above all, they want greater independence in foreign policy: a willingness to stand up for British interests and principles, even when necessary against American pressure, and a determination to end the cold war at any time and in any area that is possible. Their position, defined in the manifesto, "One Way Only," is that "once there is clear proof of a change of heart in the countries which now threaten aggression, negotiations can and must be undertaken to reduce the weight of armaments in every country, and that Labor will watch vigilantly for that moment."

✶

LAST NOVEMBER THE MONTCLAIR CHAPTER of the Sons of the American Revolution adopted a resolution calling upon public libraries and schools to label with a stamp or sticker "publications which advocate or favor communism or which are issued or distributed by a Communist organization formally designated by any

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 201
Judges or "Mere Instruments"? 202
Beyond San Francisco *by Freda Kirchwey* 203

ARTICLES

Peace or Blackmail in the Middle East *by Lillie Shultz* 204
Maverick from Maine *by Duncan Aikman* 207
The Helsingör Peace Conference *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 210
Setback for Labor Unity *by Willard Shelton* 212
Japan as Judah *by Kizo Kano* 213

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

What Does Russia Offer? *by George Soule* 214
Malraux's Great Trilogy *by S. Lane Faison, Jr.* 214
"Most People Are Other People" *by Ernest Jones* 216
Books in Brief 216
Drama *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 217
Films *by Manny Farber* 218
Music *by B. H. Haggin* 219

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 430 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 220

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams
Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall
Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin
Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting
Staff Contributors
Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Advertising Manager: Mary Simon
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas. *Subscription Prices:* Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

authorized government official or agency as communistic." The resolution went on to suggest that publications which were found to be "subversive should not be freely available in libraries or in schools but should be obtained only by signing suitable applications." No specific proposals were offered on how these recommendations might be put into effect until last April when the S. A. R. asked the American Library Association to take on the job. Nine members of the association's eleven-member Committee on Intellectual Freedom voted and rejected the proposal. The association then submitted the proposal to twenty-four public and school librarians throughout the country for comment. Twenty replied and voted against it. One librarian wrote, "labeling is not only an attempt to prejudice the reader; it is an attempt to control and frighten people." Another voted against labeling "because there can be no reasonable end once it is begun." On the strength of the committee's report and survey, the council of the American Library Association has adopted a resolution vigorously denouncing labeling and rejecting the S. A. R. proposal. Momentarily defeated, the S. A. R. is now rallying support from like-minded organizations, determined to demonstrate its revolutionary antecedents by waging a national campaign for book-labeling.

Judges or "Mere Instruments"?

ANY attempt to intimidate judges is a matter of concern in a democracy, but when government itself attempts the intimidation then the independence of the judiciary is directly imperiled. This is the issue involved in the recent attempt by the Department of Justice to disqualify Federal Judge Delbert E. Metzger in a case pending in Hawaii.

Unlike federal judges on the mainland, territorial judges are given specific term appointments, and Judge Metzger's appointment expires on September 28. When the seven alleged Communists arrested in Hawaii were brought before Judge Metzger for arraignment late in August, Acting United States Attorney Howard K. Hoddick demanded $75,000 bail in each case. Judge Metzger demurred. "Bail," he said, "was never intended as a punishment before trial." He thereupon set bail at $5,000 in each case, which he later raised to $7,500 at the suggestion of the grand jury. Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney, chairman of the Senate committee in charge of Hawaiian affairs, promptly denounced Judge Metzger's refusal to accept the government's suggestion on bail as "outrageous" and went on to say that this action would "speedily terminate the Judge's services in Hawaii . . . Judge Metzger has sacrificed any right to further consideration."

The Acting United States Attorney then filed "at the request of the Attorney General of the United States,"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

an affidavit to disqualify Judge Metzger. The affidavit is an extraordinary document. It calls attention to Judge Metzger's refusal to accept the government's suggestion on bail; quotes him as having said, "So far as I am concerned, people who choose may belong to the Communist Party"; and then, referring to the fact that Judge Metzger had acquitted of contempt of the House Committee on Un-American Activities 39 witnesses who had claimed the protection of the Fifth Amendment, quotes him as having expressed disapproval of Congress for "adopting suppressive measures which have a tendency to lead toward a police state." Queried by *The Nation*, a spokesman for the Department of Justice could not recall another instance in which the department had sought to disqualify a federal judge.

The official indignation about Judge Metzger contrasts unpleasantly with the absence of official comment on the disqualification of Judge James M. Carter in a similar case. Recently the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that Judge Carter was permanently disqualified on the score of "personal prejudice" in the case of one of the alleged Communists arrested in Los Angeles. On at least five occasions, so the court found, Judge Carter had expressed the belief that "membership in the Communist party" was tantamount to a violation of the Smith Act, thus in effect announcing, in advance of a trial, that the defendants were guilty.

The outcry against Judge Metzger takes on added meaning, moreover, against the background of recent attempts to coerce federal judges. When Judge Leon Yankwich had a minor brush with the Tenney Committee in California some years ago, there were vague threats of a Congressional inquiry. Somewhat later the action of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in ordering the release of Harry Bridges on bail pending an appeal provoked threats of a general investigation of the federal judiciary. Similar threats were voiced by Congressmen who disapproved of Judge Samuel H. Kaufman's conduct of the first Hiss trial.

The power of judges to punish for contempt affords ample protection against attempted intimidation by litigants or private parties; but the contempt power does not protect judges against Congressional pressure or pressures applied by the Department of Justice.

Those who know Delbert E. Metzger will not fear that he may be intimidated. Judge Metzger does not intimidate easily—as the military discovered in Hawaii during World War II. But that a judge who lacks life-tenure should be singled out for this unprecedented action, undertaken on direct orders from the Attorney General, only underscores the implications so far as other federal judges are concerned.

Fortunately Judge Metzger has some courageous colleagues on the federal bench. In Michigan, Judge Arthur E. Lederle has ruled that denial of bail should not be used as a punishment, and in New York Judge Edward Weinfeld has questioned the right of the Attorney General to set up special regulations governing the acceptance of cash bail. But if the fine example of these men is to prevail over current fears and pressures, then Congress and the Attorney General should recognize that neither is the keeper of the judicial conscience. "There was a period in English history," as Judge William Healy pointed out in ordering Bridges released on bail, "when high judges prostituted themselves to the role of mere instruments for carrying into effect the arbitrary will of the Crown; and the memory of that experience took deep lodgment in the hearts of the English-speaking peoples. It was in part owing to these unhappy experiences that in our constitutional system the judiciary was set up as an equal branch of the government, independent both of the executive and the legislative arms." Current unhappy experiences should remind us that American judges are not "mere instruments" of an Administration's foreign policy. Under the circumstances a refusal to reappoint Judge Metzger can only be interpreted as an attempt to subvert the principle of an independent judiciary.

Beyond San Francisco

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

FORTY-NINE nations signed the Japanese peace treaty last Saturday in a show of solidarity that made the three Soviet standouts look lonely and rather ineffective. Gromyko and his two backers, the delegates of Poland and Czechoslovakia, left before the signing, their efforts to prolong debate firmly rolled under by the smooth-running conference machinery, their protests and counter-proposals virtually ignored. Even the absence of India and Burma, which with Yugoslavia had declined the invitation to San Francisco, was at least partly offset by the fact that six other "free Asian" countries were present and among the signers. The inclusion in this group of the three states of Indo-China, still unfree dependencies of France, was not stressed in the news stories. Altogether the intention of the State Department to hold a "conference" which should be an impressive demonstration of unanimity was nearly successful. If Gromyko and his colleagues had any immediate effect it was to insure that other delegates, even some with serious doubts to express, took pains to cushion their critical comments with sharp attacks on the Soviet Union.

But beyond San Francisco lie the somber realities which diplomacy temporarily obscured. They were not changed by forty-nine signatures. Gromyko's implied warning that the treaty would set off another war in Asia may have been merely a final dramatic denuncia-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion of a pact he had already described as an "instrument of aggression." Or it may have been a hint that the talks at Kaesong, stalled for the duration of the conference, would presently end in a new offensive from the north. Or it may have been a serious threat of the greater war in everyone's mind. But whatever it portended, the troubles due to follow the treaty are closely linked to its rejection by the Communist powers, China and Russia, by India and Burma, to the disapproval of Indonesia and the Philippines, and to the grave objections raised before the conference by liberal elements inside Japan. In spite of six Asian signatures on the treaty, it is still a fact that most of Asia repudiates it at heart and will try to modify it in practice. It is a more ominous fact that until Japan is at peace with Russia and China and India no real peace has been made with anybody.

Nor will post-treaty difficulties be confined to Asia. The fragile solidarity that emerged at San Francisco cannot long survive unless Russia, by threat or overt act, holds the "free" nations together. Already the British are worrying about cheap Japanese goods flooding markets absolutely essential to the export trade that must support Britain's shaky economy—more than ever now that rearmament is creating new, unmanageable burdens. Norway is worried about fishing rights. Many nations are apprehensive because the treaty establishes no controls to prevent the ruthless industrial and trading practices that built Japan's pre-war commercial empire. And all the powers, save perhaps the United States, which will have the whip hand, fear the rapid rise of Japan's war-making capacity, industrial and political as well as military. They know that a new balance of power in Asia has been created by the treaty, and some of its consequences are already visible. Even the security pact between Washington and Tokyo, signed as a postscript to the treaty, is only partly reassurance. As long as American forces remain stationed in Japan and the neighboring islands, they will presumably insure the use of Japan's restored military power against Communist aggression rather than for Japanese aggression. But the combined weight of arms in Japan, concentrated just off the coast of Asia's mainland, can also lighten the frayed bonds between Russia and China and serve as a provocation rather than a warning to both. Already many comments in the European press reveal a fear that the treaty of peace may be a step in the direction of war.

Two developments will either fortify or help dispel this feeling. The first is the course of coming events in Korea. If the Kaesong talks are resumed, then it can be assumed that Russia is willing to bide its time, confident that Asian discontent with the treaty will mount as its effects become evident. If the northern drive begins, and especially if Russian mechanized units appear on the front, then the danger of general war will be greatly increased. The second, closely linked to the first, is the decision that must be made as to Japan's relationship with China. Mr. Acheson has denied any intention of forcing Japan to turn to Formosa. But it is hard to believe that our new Asian ally will be encouraged to make a peace treaty with Peking at a time when we are warring against Chinese forces in Korea and are committed to the massive rearming of Chiang Kai-shek's troops on Formosa. The one thing that might tip the scales toward Peking would be a cease-fire. If Japan should come to an agreement with Communist China, as both its economic and security needs urgently dictate, most of the nations signing the treaty would experience a great sense of relief. Peaceful relations between Japan and China are the one force that might bring about a stable balance of power in Pacific Asia.

Peace or Blackmail in the Middle East

BY LILLIE SHULTZ

Flushing, September 1

AFTER more than six weeks of reluctant debate the Security Council today adopted by a vote of 8 with 3 abstentions (Russia, India, and China) the resolution calling upon Egypt to end its blockade of the Suez Canal against the passage of Israeli ships and the search of other vessels bound for Israeli ports. The result is a clear-cut victory for international law. For the U. N. it could mean a unique opportunity to make peace between the Arab states and Israel—or its greatest headache.

Although Israel may be the beneficiary of the decision, it was a victory dictated not by the justice of Israel's complaint but by big-power interests. Here was a clear-cut violation of international law which if unchallenged would have created most dangerous precedents, allowing Egypt, despite the convention guaranteeing freedom of passage through the Suez Canal of international shipping both in war and in peace, to stop any ship of any registry at its own discretion.

LILLIE SHULTZ, director of The Nation Associates, frequently analyzes developments in the United Nations for this journal. She attended all the meetings of the Security Council during its debate on the Egyptian blockade.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If Egypt fails to comply with the resolution, as seems likely in the light of its past record, the United Nations will have three alternatives. It may simply ignore Egypt's defiance. But inaction would mean more than loss of prestige: it would undermine the whole Israel-Arab armistice. For failure to enforce the resolution could reasonably be interpreted by Israel as acceptance of the Egyptian premise that a state of war still exists, in which case Israel would seek to protect itself. Retaliation in its mildest form would mean a search of ships bound for Egypt passing through Haifa.

Or the U. N. could take action under Chapters VI, VII, and VIII of the Charter. Under Chapter VI, it might seek conciliation, using the Palestine Conciliation Commission; or it might refer the entire matter to the International Court of Justice. But that would mean retrogression. For the Council could have used either device without adopting a resolution which clearly states that the blockade of the Suez Canal is contrary to the Constantinople Convention of 1888 governing the canal, the right of nations to navigate the seas and trade freely with one another, and the Israel-Arab armistice agreements. Furthermore, if the blockade were maintained, the British-owned Haifa refinery would continue to operate at 25 per cent of capacity—at the very moment when its full output of 4,000,000 tons annually is urgently needed to offset the loss of production in Iran. Thus a central purpose of the resolution would be defeated.

Under Chapter VIII, the Council could presumably invite the Arab League to help it conciliate the situation. How far this move would get may be readily imagined: intransigence toward Israel is the one thing that keeps the Arab League from splitting apart.

Should Egypt prove recalcitrant, the U. N. also has authority under Chapter VII to call for an economic or diplomatic boycott, or a blockade and "other operations by air, sea, or land forces of members of the United Nations." This procedure would mean a protracted and costly embroilment, not simply with Egypt, but probably with the whole of the Arab world. Besides, other differences inevitably arising out of the central fact that a permanent settlement is still lacking would keep the U. N. in continuous ferment.

But the United Nations has a third recourse. It can begin to perform its central function of promoting peace by seeking actively to bring about a settlement between Israel and the Arab states, using today's resolution as its point of departure. Although the U. N. Truce Commission and the Palestine Conciliation Commission have cost the U. N. almost $9,000,000 since 1947, neither has shown a creative ability to advance a permanent settlement.

The advantages of peace are obvious. In the narrow sense peace between Israel and the Arab states would make possible a gradual approach to normal relations. It would mean a mutual resumption of trade, to the benefit of both areas, particularly of Jordan and Lebanon. It would make possible the carrying out of joint projects by Israel and Jordan, including resumption of operations of the Rutenberg Electric Works, thus applying the water power of the Jordan to the industrial growth of the two countries. It could mean the development of the Dead Sea concession, with its enormous mineral deposits, benefiting both Jordan and Israel. Peace would also invite the establishment, with international funds, of a Jordan Valley Authority, similar to the TVA, which would bring enormous advantages to the entire area. Dr. Walter Clay Lowdermilk has estimated that this development alone would so fructify both sides of the Jordan as to make possible the eventual settlement of 10,000,000 persons.

Today Israel has a population of 1,516,000 while Jordan, in an area four times as large, has approximately 1,000,000. Because of its dynamics, Israel is managing to build a growing economy based on Western standards while Jordan, today as yesterday, remains a backward country, with virtually no industry, still dependent on British subsidy.

From the international standpoint a fact of overriding importance is that a settlement would promote stability in the whole area. The Middle East today is in a state of legitimate ferment against both feudalism and colonialism. Campaigns for a "second round" against Israel have become a kind of lightning rod used by the governing oligarchies to divert the revolutionary impulses of millions of people against unspeakable conditions. At this moment all the countries of the Arab League are casting covetous eyes at Jordan, now deprived of its strongest personality by the murder of King Abdullah. Annexation plots are brewing; intrigue is rife; new military adventures may be anticipated which could have Israel as a target point at a moment's notice. The "second-round" agitation could become explosive. But these plots could be nipped in the bud if concerted and vigorous action toward a peace settlement were begun at once.

STABILITY in the Middle East would make it possible for the Western world to build an alliance which has meaning. For months there has been talk about a Middle Eastern defense pact which would include Turkey, the Arab states, and possibly Israel. But in the absence of a settlement no Arab state will enter any pact which includes Israel. And the weakness of such a pact without Israel is also apparent, since Israel is the one dynamic democratic force in the Middle East.

Peace would also mean that oil-hungry Europe would be sure of being fed and would make possible the resumption of the flow of oil from Iraq to the Haifa

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

refinery, second only in size to Abadan, interrupted by the Palestine war.

Stabilization would also open the way to genuine efforts to develop the area for the benefit of its own people and the rest of the world. A real Point Four program would then become possible. Large-scale development backed by adequate funds and the whole experience of democracy would save the Middle East from the blandishments of the Soviet Union by making the peoples of the area our allies. Without the friendship of these peoples, an alliance would have no meaning. Shoring up feudal regimes and securing bases and treaty rights will be of small avail when the basic test comes. The peoples of the Middle East would not support those who support their oppressors. In such a test, no Arab government, whatever its pledges, could deliver the loyalty of its people.

Whether the U. N. will seize this moment to act for peace is the big question. Until now, little leadership has been shown by any of the great powers. The resolution itself, the first of its kind directed against an Arab state, is primarily the result of British pressure—animated less by the interests of Israel than by its own oil interests.

The United States agreed to sponsor the resolution only after weeks of insistence by the British. In this, as in every case relating to the Middle East, the controlling factor was the State Department's self-defeating policy of appeasing the Arab states. Even before the discussion began in the Security Council, the State Department performed what it hoped would be an act of propitiation. Without being asked by any Arab state, it informed Congress that it would sanction a grant-in-aid to Israel only if an over-all grant were made to the Middle East as a whole. Thus the Arab states stand to get a sum which may reach $89,000,000, of which some $20,000,000 would be for economic assistance, $50,000,000 for Arab refugees, and $20,000,000 for military purposes.

That Egypt's intransigence was largely blackmail became increasingly clear as the discussions progressed, although the Egyptians apparently could not agree among themselves on what the price should be. At first they demanded, it was reported, transfer of the Haifa refinery to Egypt. Subsequently they were said to be ready to accept American assurance that a refinery would be built in Egypt. Still later their clamor behind the scenes was over the amount of money which Congress allotted; Egypt could not tolerate the notion of being equated with Israel in a division of funds. Egypt is now said to feel that if Iran rates a Harriman, it merits no less. To be sure, none of this was said publicly by the delegate of Egypt. His case was based on a denunciation of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty, insistence that a state of war continues to exist between Egypt and Israel, and the contention that Egypt's defense requires the interception of ships bound for Israel.

Although the United States backed the U. N.'s rejection of these arguments, the era of Arab appeasement is by no means at an end. In fact, the Security Council may soon undertake a balancing act. Arab pride, it is said, may be assuaged by a new and strong resolution directed against Israel in connection with the Huleh project.

On May 18 the Security Council adopted a resolution rebuking Israel and calling upon it to halt its drainage of the Huleh swamp, an area of 22,000 acres, on the ground that it had evacuated Arabs living on six and a half acres in the demilitarized zone without authorization. The demilitarized zone, in Palestine territory, never in the possession of Syria, is 2½ miles at its widest point, one-sixth of a mile at its narrowest; and creates a buffer zone between Israel and Syria. It was understood at the time of the armistice that this zone would be formally incorporated in the Jewish state in the final settlement; the residents of this area are now citizens of Israel.

In adopting the resolution the Security Council ignored Israel's contention that Syrian regular and parimilitary forces were using the demilitarized zone to attack Israeli settlements, that Syria's purposes were aggrandizement, and that important humanitarian issues were at stake in the Huleh project. At an expenditure of $10,000,000, the Israelis have undertaken to drain Lake Huleh. Once the job is done, they hope to establish 3,000 farming units on the reclaimed land. With the exception of the six and a half acres in the demilitarized zone, the whole area is formally part of Israel. While the U. N. had the power to condemn Israel for its action in removing Arabs from the zone, without its permission, common sense and a decent appreciation of values should have dictated a practical settlement which would have allowed the Arabs to be compensated and the project to proceed. After all, common practice in other countries, including our own, is to condemn areas required for public projects and to compensate their owners.

Syria itself may have torpedoed this proposed new adjustment. From the start, it denied that its regular and semi-military forces had invaded the demilitarized zone. And General Riley, chief of the U. N. Truce Commission, reported on July 21 that he and the U. N. observers had been unable to conclude that such participation had taken place. But on July 19, 1951, the *Official Gazette*, Number 31, of the Syrian Republic listed the decorations awarded members of the Syrian forces who participated in war operations in the area. Among those granted awards for wounds received "while on active duty in the zone of military operations" were fifty Syrians wounded on May 5 and 6 at Tel el Mutilla, at Telabizeid, and at Tel Mutallaka, all in the demilitarized zone.

Syria's strategy is to create a situation where it can demand the partition of the demilitarized zone and se-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cure for itself riparian rights on the Jordan. But Syria does not need water rights. A country of more than 66,000 square miles, with a population of a little over 3,000,000, Syria has an excellent water supply. In ancient times the area occupied by Syria supported a population of 20,000,000; today three-quarters of the cultivable land lies waste. Israel has one river, the Jordan; Syria has five. But the waters of Syria's rivers, as well as most of the smaller streams and the waters that flow from the hills during the rainy season, are largely lost in the sea.

THE attitude of the United States on war or peace in the Middle East could be controlling, but a curious ambivalence prevails in Washington. On the one hand, the President and Congress are both friendly to Israel. The President, since 1947, has played a decisive role in bringing about the establishment of the Jewish state. And Congress recently showed an unusual sense of realism in dividing the $138,000,000 allocated to the Middle East equally between Israel and the Arab states. The State Department, on the other hand, has not yet accepted that equation.

But more important is the reluctance of the State Department to deal realistically with the refugee problem and, most fundamentally, with the problem of peace. At every stage of every discussion the Arab states inject the issue of the Arab refugees. No governmental authority has yet reminded them, however, that the Arab refugee question was created by the Arab states themselves and by their war. And although the fact is privately acknowledged by virtually everyone, no one has clearly told the Arabs that these refugees can never be returned to Israel.

From every point of view, therefore, the moment for decisive action has arrived. A bold policy should be embarked upon to produce a peace settlement—not at the expense of Israel or the Arabs but in accordance with the basic realities of the situation. Such a settlement should include an international undertaking to resettle the Arab refugees permanently—not on a stop-gap basis—in the areas where they now are or in under-populated countries such as Syria and Iraq. It should include a commitment to make available, instead of the present Point Four pittance, adequate funds to help the Middle East develop its resources. It must provide for new and dynamic personnel assigned by the U. N. to produce a settlement.

As long as the Arab states believe they can name their own price, they will continue to resist peace with Israel. But once it is clear to them that the benefits of the Western world will accrue to them only if there is peace, a more realistic attitude is certain to emerge. Undoubtedly some Arab leaders would cut their throats to save their faces, but other leaders can be found who understand that oil has value only when it is used or sold; that the Arab states cannot exist in isolation; and that they could benefit enormously from what the United States and the Western world have to offer. Until now we have been operating as if what the Arab states had to offer was a priceless commodity, oil. A reappraisal of our assets and theirs would be helpful all around. The fear of the State Department that a firm "no-appeasement" policy would throw these states into the arms of the Soviet Union is nonsense. The governments of the Arab states are shrewd enough to know that once wooed and won by the Soviet Union, their days would be numbered.

Failure to act for peace *now* may be the U. N.'s great lost opportunity.

Maverick from Maine

BY DUNCAN AIKMAN

Washington, September 10

AMONG colleagues in Republican practical politics in Washington, Senator Margaret Chase Smith of Maine, with all her five feet four inches and 120 pounds of charm and conscience, is sometimes referred to as "the girl scout with a mission." The phrase is not meant in compliment. The mine run of G. O. P. stalwarts can usually take girl scouts or leave them. And the mission of Republicans in Congress, in their view, is simply to raise so much hell with the plans, programs, and errors of the Truman Administration that the G. O. P. will return to power in 1952 on something like a national wave of nausea.

This leaves Margaret Smith, now deep in her third year as a Senator, in the position of an uneasy and not always too consistent maverick. Her idea of a mission seems to be to put together the pieces of the G. O. P. Humpty Dumpty so that in 1952 the party can offer the voters the prospect of reasonably "moderate" and responsible government. Since this involves fitting isolationist and internationalist pieces, Asia-first and Europe-first pieces, smear-spreading and rationally critical pieces, nostalgic and perceptibly contemporary pieces, into the pattern of party doctrine, it is a whopping assignment.

Moreover, most of the Republican bigwigs in Con-

DUNCAN AIKMAN, a veteran newspaperman, has written a number of books, the latest being "The Turning Stream."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gress want none of it. Indeed, in the fourteen months since Senator Smith's celebrated "Declaration of Conscience" speech against the calumny tactics of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin, the G. O. P. organization has sharply disciplined her for even trying to accomplish her mission. In consequence, she has chosen during most of the 1951 session to further it less by preachment than by personal example on the voting record and by dignified abstention from name-calling orgies. At the same time she has evidently felt under such compulsion to maintain her party standing that her operations occasionally resemble the footwork of a circus rider trying to balance on several horses at once.

On the one hand, Smith votes have been cast in the Senate for all the foreign-economic-aid appropriations growing out of E. C. A., for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and all its sequels in military aid to Europe, for our own huge defense program, including universal military training. The Smith voice has been heard in favor of federal aid to public schools. And with a shrewd suspicion that housewives may be more concerned about prices in 1952 and in her own reelection year of 1954 than they seem to be now, Senator Margaret has also gone down the line for the Truman price-control program. All these measures, in a Down East lady's practical judgment, have too much of the flavor of non-partisanship for the Republicans to make hay by obstructing or resisting them.

On the Douglas MacArthur effulgence of last spring Senator Margaret blew both hot and cold. Once in the press column, *Washington and You*, which she contributes to some forty newspapers throughout the country, including the Chicago *Sun-Times*, the Philadelphia *Bulletin*, and four papers in Maine, she seemed on the point of indorsing the retired folk hero for President. "No one in the Senate or the House of Representatives," she declared, "even approaches the stature of General MacArthur as a popular leader in opposition to President Truman." But by June 4 the column was painstakingly extricating her from any trap in the MacArthur corner. The hearings on the General's recall were "sheer politics," she maintained.

On the other hand, some of the Smith efforts to demonstrate party regularity register a fairly full tonal scale of G. O. P. orthodoxy, plus occasional coloratura flourishes. With the best of Old Guardsmen, Senator Margaret brands the Brannan plan and the Administration's medical-aid program as "socialized agriculture" and "socialized medicine." She is fond of warning that many Fair Deal projects represent dangerous tendencies to sell out liberty for economic security.

Now and then, in her column and elsewhere, she has tossed sugar crumbs to the G. O. P. anti-Europe isolationists by representing General Eisenhower's Atlantic Treaty command not as a permanent assignment but simply as an inspection commission to find out whether the treaty agreements will work or not. During the Korean war's black days last January, in a speech at the Lexington Forum (Kentucky) she conciliated the Asia-firsters with fair words for aid to Chiang Kai-shek and the defense of Formosa, adding that if the United States "keeps a foot in Asia, it will be a victory for such Republican critics [of the Administration] as Hoover, Knowland, Taft, and MacArthur."

In a flamboyant display of her respect for Republican administrative capacity, the Senator, indeed, has pleaded consistently for a pet idea of hers—that Mr. Truman, in deference to a chronic world emergency, should appoint a coalition Cabinet. She began this crusade on the morning after Truman was elected in 1948, with a telegram urging the Chief Executive to name his defeated rival, Governor Dewey, as Secretary of State. Early this year, in her January 30 column, she broadened the list of eligibles to include Senator Taft and ex-President Herbert Hoover. Such a concession to bi-partisanship would not, to be sure, "condone or erase the past tragic errors of Democratic administration." Nor should it bar G. O. P. dissidents from criticizing the Administration's policies. It should not even prevent Secretary of State Taft, Dewey, or Hoover from seeking the Republican Presidential nomination in 1952 or, if nominated, from resigning from the Cabinet and lambasting Trumanism.

THESE somewhat haphazard contributions to party unity should not lead one to conclude that Margaret Smith is in any sense an insincere or a frightened political character. She is still the same woman who announced in the Declaration of Conscience speech, "I don't want to see the Republican Party ride to victory on the four horsemen of calumny—fear, ignorance, bigotry, and smear." She is still proud of her success in getting seven more or less like-minded Republican Senators to sign a declaration against the use of these "totalitarian techniques" in partisan politics. She stands today by both her words and her actions. She made this clear early in August when as a member of the Senate Rules Committee investigating the election of Senator John M. Butler of Maryland, she signed a report blasting the use of McCarthy tactics to defeat the Democratic incumbent, Millard Tydings.

But certain things that have happened since the Declaration have considerably increased her already hefty stock of wisdom from experience. The Declaration did not check McCarthyism, for instance; and it did get Mrs. Smith into trouble with the Senate's Republican party organization. Throughout the 1950 Congressional campaign, with the Taft-Wherry leadership's obvious silent encouragement, the Wisconsin Senator's invectives against "Communist sympathizers in the Administration" constantly rose in defamatory violence. Then,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

when the Eighty-second Congress convened in January with a greatly increased Republican membership, Senator Margaret was promptly dropped from her place on the G. O. P. Senate Policy Committee, and a little later from the important investigation subcommittee of the Committee on Executive Expenditures.

Anyone with fourteen years' Congressional experience could easily see what the score was. The heavy Republican election gains manifestly had persuaded large numbers of her previously doubtful colleagues, perhaps a majority, that riding with "the four horsemen of calumny" paid off. In effect, then, her committee demotions, accomplished at the known instigations of Senator McCarthy and with significant symptoms of approval from Republican leader Robert A. Taft, put Mrs. Smith on notice. She could pursue a continuous crusade against McCarthyism only at the risk of a party ostracism which would render it ineffective. At best she could start an intra-party feud which would seriously damage prospects of a Republican unified front for victory in 1952.

Seligson

Margaret Chase Smith

Boxed in by these pressures, Senator Margaret quite evidently has fallen back on what one of her Democratic admirers calls her "residual Republican mysticism." She honestly believes, from inherited-family and her own lifelong adherence to it, that the Republican Party is the nation's most efficient instrument of government. She is honestly confident that once the G. O. P. has returned to power and the raging frustrations of its twenty-year minority status are ended, it will ditch McCarthyism, and acquire a sobering sense of responsibility.

She believes equally that the Declaration of Conscience has served its purpose, and so, to use an old Down East expression, she is not inclined to "keep up a fuss" over it simply in order to enhance her moral-courage rating in the nation. She knows that it drew a clean line between Republicans who wish to fight the 1952 campaign on legitimate issues and those who condone the use of the smear and the big lie as political weapons. If the line has identified Presidential aspirant and Senate G. O. P. boss Taft as an outstanding condoner, there are no signs that Senator Smith regrets it. With this much to its credit, she is disposed to let the Declaration ferment in the voters' conscience, while she tries to be the best Senator and Republican she knows how to be.

SUCH objectives involve her in one of Washington's toughest working schedules and in a Spartan living regime to keep up with it. This does not bother her much, because ever since as a high-school girl she was a Saturday sales clerk in the Skowhegan five-and-ten her days have been full of work. After high school Margaret was successfully a Skowhegan telephone operator, circulation manager of the county's weekly newspaper, office manager of a woollen mill, and secretary to the late Representative Clyde H. Smith, her husband. After his death in 1940 she served four and a half terms as a member of the House of Representatives and of its extremely busy war-time Naval Affairs Committee.

She has learned how to take fifteen-hour working days in stride. She gets along bouncingly on six hours' sleep, and lives in a small apartment half a mile from the Capitol to be sure that she takes a daily walk. She tactfully but insistently shuns Washington's big-time entertainment, including mass cocktail parties, in order to protect her naturally abounding energies. As a result, the Smith record for Senate attendance is better than average; the roll-call voting record is almost super-excellent. Senator Margaret studies most legislative items with such diligence that she has made herself something of an expert on defense expenditures, taxation, and social-security legislation as well as on the needs of her Maine constituents.

She runs a medium-sized Senate office which makes it a point to answer all mail the day it arrives. Through hundreds of telephone calls and long-term personal friendships in the federal administrative establishments, she tries to grant innumerable constituents' requests for information and services. Chiefly by getting down to the office before eight in the morning and often not leaving before eleven at night, she finds time to put a five-day-a-week newspaper column through the works and to see practically every Maine visitor who drops in for a greeting or on business. She manages, too, to spend a month, usually October, in arduous fence-building on the home front, and to prepare and deliver several fairly weighty formal speeches each year.

It may be that in the Smith constitution there is just a shade too much euphoria. It is this quality, some critics suggest, which enables the Senator to live with her conscience without fighting for it grimly and continuously in the way of the early-century party progressives. It accounts, too, no doubt, for the chin-up attitude with which she took her punishment for the Declaration of Conscience gesture. The cheerfulness is so near insouciance that she and her major antagonist, the junior Senator from Wisconsin, still remain, at least in their surface relations, on "Joe" and "Margaret" terms; while her Maine colleague, Senator Owen Brewster, whose beetling disapproval of the Declaration she knows all about through cloakroom authentications, is still welcome, when visiting delegations from the Bangor or

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Kennebunkport high school appear in Washington, to drop around at her office and horn in on the chat.

Now and then, however, the Smith determination to unify her party imposes strains even on chronic euphoria. The June 28 *Washington and You* column, for example, expressly dismissed foreign policy, the Fair Deal, the ouster of MacArthur, and the Korean war from current partisan agitation. "The simple, tailored issues for 1952," it proclaimed, "are moral decay and corruption in the Democratic Administration." "What other issue," Senator Margaret pursued, "can we all so completely agree on?"

The Helsingör Peace Conference

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Helsingör, August 28

DURING the entire past week, with sessions interrupted only during the lunch hour and lasting until evening, the conference convoked in this peaceful and charming corner of Denmark by the International Liaison Committee of Organizations for Peace has been reviewing the world situation and searching for alternatives to World War III. The concrete subject of the conference was East-West relations. The broad spirit animating the meeting was shown by the presence of such divergent groups as the Partisans of Peace and the Yugoslav Council for the Defense of Peace. The British were represented by a number of organizations, among them the Quakers and also the National Peace Council, whose views weigh heavily in Britain, particularly with the Labor government. Various national branches of the Association for the United Nations were on hand, along with several important women's organizations. There were delegations from America and Asia as well as representatives of the liberation movements of the colonial countries. The discussions were extraordinarily frank, and one was able to get a very complete picture of prevailing sentiment.

Given the liberal slant of the majority of the delegates it was natural that consideration of the state of civil liberties in the world should have preceded the analysis of the East-West question.

My subject was "Democracy in the World." I discussed it under three heads: democracy in each country; democracy in international relations; and democracy inside the United Nations. The long discussion period brought general agreement that after each war democracy finds itself in far worse condition than before, despite solemn promises that the war was being waged in defense of democracy. Delegates gave precise and disquieting reports about the decline of civil liberties in each country during the past two years. With respect to democracy in international relations, the new turn in United States policy toward Franco Spain was considered serious enough to threaten the democratic aims of the Western coalition. No more reassuring is the situation of democracy in the United Nations, where on most issues the number of "sure votes" guarantees an automatic majority for the American position.

The disquieting performance of the world's major newspapers, on one side as well as on the other, was fully discussed. Instead of contributing to an atmosphere favorable to reconciliation between the two opposing blocs, the press only increased existing tensions by its violent partisanship. On this point the following recommendation was unanimously adopted:

> As the primary necessity in all sincere efforts to secure peaceful settlement of international disputes and a cooperative world is respect for truth and, therefore, the avoidance of mere tendentious propaganda, we urge that facilities should be given by all governments and by private agencies for the regular, frequent interchange and publication of national viewpoints, which aim not at recrimination but at honest, restrained, and constructive expositions in the interest of a greater clarity and mutual understanding.
>
> We propose that attempts should be made to secure reciprocal arrangements for the broadcasting by all countries to all other countries, including America, Britain, and Russia, of items of human and cultural value under the supervision of an agreed Mixed Commission.
>
> We also suggest the exploration of the possibility both of securing through news agencies and other channels more sympathetic, constructive articles in the existing press and of publication of international journals in which equal space is given to complementary or divergent national contributions; and we press for wide opportunities for the visitation of individuals and groups, without political selection or prejudice, that they may enjoy mental contact, human fellowship, and free discussion of cultural and economic subjects in international gatherings.

During the discussion which preceded the adoption of this recommendation several speakers indicated that the

J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO attended the conference of the International Liaison Committee of Organizations for Peace as a representative of The Nation Associates.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

publication in *Pravda* of the article by British Foreign Secretary Morrison was a step in the right direction, and one delegate suggested that Edouard Herriot, president of the French Parliament, should contribute another article to a Moscow newspaper to keep the East-West discussions alive.

The "visa war" was vigorously denounced in the light of concrete examples. The well-known former French deputy, l'Abbé Pierre, who resigned from the M. R. P. because of differences on foreign policy, described his difficulties in trying to obtain a visa for Moscow, as well as for Washington. After the war he had been cordially received in Washington, he said, but had become *persona non grata* since he voted in Parliament against the North Atlantic Pact.

MUCH attention was given to the rearmament of Germany. Responsibility for the fact that only six years after its defeat Germany should again be the biggest headache of world politics rested, in the opinion of the conference, equally with the four big powers. The rearmament of Germany—East against West, or the reverse—should never have been used as a bargaining point. But it was not so much past mistakes as the present situation that concerned the delegates. Today the rearmament of Western Germany is the single most serious threat to peace. This problem is complicated even further by the revival in Western Germany of powerful Nazi forces which in some places directly or indirectly dominate policy. In the discussion on Germany a pathetic note was struck by the intervention of a young, severely wounded German war veteran. This is what he said: "At the end of the war I saw myself as an involuntary war criminal, having heard daily from the Allies that German militarism was the cause of all humanity's misfortune. But now the same Allies who condemned German militarism are preparing the rearmament of my country and I ask whether I should forget my past and be willing to kill again."

The German problem was examined from several points of view. The rearmament of Western Germany, in face of repeated warnings from Moscow, might close the door to an accord between East and West. On the other hand, Germany might well provide the possibility of striking a bargain: for if Russia is so greatly concerned over the rearmament of Western Germany, it may be disposed to make concessions on this issue. The recommendation on this aspect of world peace ran as follows:

> It is our conviction that German rearmament would be calamitous not only because the majority of German people at present reject it, but also because it is utterly inconsistent with previous Allied declarations and actions in respect of German militarism, and would therefore deepen the cynicism that makes human minds liable to gross exploitation and contemptuous of moral values. [That the same reasoning applies to the case of Spain and present Spanish-American negotiations in Madrid was recognized throughout the discussion.—J. A. DEL V.]
>
> We emphasize the peril of remilitarization in Western Germany and are convinced that Western German rearmament would operate provocatively and would diminish still further the possibility of more pacific considerations of crucial issues between the Soviet Union and the West; it would provide scope for the emergence of a neo-Nazi leadership; it might involve the German people in civil war; it could issue in a renewed menace of German aggression; and it would still further increase the immense economic burden borne by Germans and other peoples at a time when all economic resources are needed to meet pressing human needs in Europe and throughout the world.
>
> We consider that an invaluable contribution towards world peace could be made by utilizing the present disarmament of Germany, by mutual general agreement, to establish Germany and also other areas as permanently guaranteed, non-military neutral zones, thus enabling the two parts of Germany to be reunited and serve as a large international bridge. This would provide an example capable of expansion and imaginatively impress world opinion with a positive peaceful achievement.

Although the conference naturally refused to accept war as inevitable, a sense of reality led it to recognize that the danger of war increases every day. Although in various connections Russia was severely censured, the delegates were more apprehensive, at the moment, over certain policies of the United States. Two things were chiefly emphasized: first, that the tremendous progress of the American military-industrial mobilization may make the United States feel so powerful that it will pay little attention to the sentiments and advice of its allies; and, second, that the American government and political parties are becoming prisoners of their own anti-Russian propaganda so that it may be impossible for them to turn back and enter into negotiations with Russia.

There was complete accord among the British, French, and Scandinavian delegates in regarding the absence of Red China from the United Nations as one of the principal causes of political tension in Asia. On this point the following recommendation was unanimously voted:

> We welcome the prospect of an armistice in Korea and urge that nothing should be allowed to frustrate efforts to secure peace negotiations that will issue in a sound, peaceful settlement and the extension of appropriate means for the relief of the Korean peoples and the reconstruction of their devastated land. We condemn violent aggression from whatever source. We contend it is essential to recognize the existing People's Republic of China and her right of admission to the United Nations; and we call for the withdrawal of military support of Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa and the avoidance

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of any encouragement to military adventures that can only involve further human tragedy, political futility, and social chaos.

The consensus was that Peking should represent China in the United Nations. But the conference went on to say: "In the event of [Communist] China not being admitted to the United Nations, we urge that the existing grave world situation demands that initiative be taken to secure an early conference of all leading responsible powers, including China, in order that outstanding disputes shall be earnestly reconsidered. . . ."

In discussing this recommendation, delegates stressed two points: first, that the United Nations, as the supreme international body, should deal with the present increasingly dangerous situation; but, second, that, if it proves incapable of taking action, time must not be allowed to slip by without an attempt being made to effect reconciliation between East and West. As an alternative to action by the United Nations, the conference considered the idea of a Five Power meeting as suggested by Moscow. Speakers also recommended that the various international organizations be on hand in Paris during the coming General Assembly to exert their influence with the U. N. delegations. This session they regard as critically important.

Setback for Labor Unity

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, September 7

WHEN the United Labor Policy Committee was organized last winter as an instrument through which unions could effectively fight Charles E. Wilson's early mobilization blunders, many believed that a new era had begun in the relations between independent unions, the American Federation of Labor, and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The new era didn't last very long; the Policy Committee is already dead, killed by unilateral and sudden withdrawal of A. F. of L. representatives. So is the dream that by the steady practice of functional cooperation the great divided labor federations would learn how to work together for vital political ends. How this came about—why the A. F. of L. decided to torpedo the U. L. P. C.—can be explained partly only on the basis of informed guesses. But a few facts should be stated.

First, the "United" Policy Committee never included spokesmen of large groups of independent unions, such as the Railroad Brotherhoods and the United Mine Workers of John L. Lewis. It included only spokesmen of the A. F. of L. and C. I. O., plus the once independent International Association of Machinists which has since joined the A. F. of L. Lewis was a member of an advisory group set up by W. Stuart Symington, Wilson's predecessor as chief mobilizer, but this group withered on the vine, and Lewis was studiously excluded from the U. L. P. C. and from President Truman's belatedly established Labor Advisory Council.

Second, the sense of peril created by enactment of the Taft-Hartley law in 1947 is gradually becoming less acute as union leaders concentrate more of their energy on intra-union politics and jockeying for position. This may be denied, but I see no other way to interpret the fact that unions themselves are now advocating piecemeal revision of Taft-Hartley rather than outright repeal or drastic and complete redrafting.

The only big unions that have been intransigent about Taft-Hartley are the United Mine Workers and the International Typographical Union (A. F. of L.), the leaders of which have steadfastly refused to sign non-Communist affidavits—although notoriously left-wing labor officials have signed such affidavits and still have control of their unions even after expulsion from the C. I. O.

With union indorsement, a bill has passed the Senate to eliminate the harassing T-H provision requiring a National Labor Relations Board referendum before negotiators can legally request a union shop. Richard J. Gray, president of the A. F. of L. Building Trades Department, has specifically requested that Congress abolish all Taft-Hartley elections, at least for the building trades. These elections are onerous because of the irregularity of employment in the building trades, but the union-shop provision and other relatively trivial burdens put on the unions are not the basic evils of Taft-Hartley. They are not the sections of the law which have resulted in the virtual collapse of A. F. of L. and C. I. O. Southern organizing campaigns.

Neither the continued cramping existence of Taft-Hartley nor the conservatism of a Congress which ignores most union legislative proposals—including those in the fields of mobilization, inflation, social security, education, health, and housing—has produced a labor movement aware that the danger to one is the danger to all. The Typographical Union officers and John L. Lewis are violently anti-Communist, but they are so violently opposed to Taft-Hartley as well that they refuse to have anything to do with its machinery if they can help it. But Lewis and the Typographical Union officers stand alone.

Within the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. generally the emphasis is unfortunately on something else. The A. F. of L.'s publicly stated reasons for withdrawing from the United Labor Policy Committee are preposterous; its charges of "raiding" by the C. I. O. could easily be—and were—countered by C. I. O. charges of A. F. of L.

WILLARD SHELTON frequently reports from Washington for The Nation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"raiding." So far as this reporter can comprehend it, the real reasons were a growing A. F. of L. disaffection at realizing that it was treating the smaller C. I. O. as an "equal," and some internal politics.

The strong man of the A. F. of L. today is not President William Green but Secretary George Meany. Meany took a very militant attitude within the U. L. P. C. regarding the new defense-production act; he advocated that labor ask the President to veto it. Green joined Walter P. Reuther and other C. I. O. spokesmen in refusing to support this militancy, since a veto would have meant that the country had no mobilization machinery whatever. George Harrison of the Railway Clerks, who had been advanced to a position as special adviser to Charles E. Wilson but had never worked at the job, also threw his influence against Meany. But Meany had the last word, and proved his power, by getting an overwhelming vote in the next A. F. of L. Executive Council meeting to pull out of the Policy Committee.

How much direct harm will be done remains to be seen. The President's Labor Advisory Committee is still in existence, and both A. F. of L. and C. I. O. spokesmen remain on that group. Unions on the state and city level, where a high degree of cooperation in political campaigns has been built in some areas, may disgustedly refuse to imitate the disruptive attitudes of their bureaucratic superiors. But Charles E. Wilson can view with some amusement the non-performance of his "adviser," Harrison, after labor shouted so loudly for Harrison's appointment, and the destruction of the "United" Labor Committee which only a few months ago seemed both powerful and farsighted enough to force beneficial changes in the mobilization program.

Japan as Judah

BY KIZO KANO

Fukuoka City, September 6

WHEN Mr. John Foster Dulles came to Tokyo, he held a series of conferences with both purged and unpurged Japanese leaders on the proposed Japanese treaty. Among these leaders were Ichiro Hatoyama, former president of the Liberal Party, and Tanzan Ishibashi, ex-Finance Minister. Both gentlemen were "depurged" shortly after this conference. The fact that they were "depurged" is recognized in Japan as an indication of the satisfactory nature of the conference. On the occasion of the conference both Japanese leaders submitted a statement of their opinions and observations on the treaty and of Japan's future position in international relations. No one knows the content of these statements, but it is generally assumed that the attitude of Mr. Hatoyama and Mr. Ishibashi must have been agreeable to Mr. Dulles and that their views must have coincided with those of General MacArthur on Formosa and China and the containment of Soviet Russia.

Although the nature of the statements is not known, Mr. Hatoyama's recent talk about maintaining a Japanese military force of twenty divisions may be taken as indicating the views he expressed. Mr. Tanzan Ishibashi was a priest by birth, and his given name, "Tanzan," means "Floating the Mountain." Mahomet called the mountain to him, but Ishibashi wants to float a mountain. The impossible in his spiritual eye may be the possible. He is a man of faith and his strong character must have won Mr. Dulles's confidence. In any case, he is now expressing his views, which are strongly pro-American, in his influential magazine, the *Oriental Economy*.

These leaders seem to represent the general trend in political as well as economic matters in Japan at present. They are clever persons and sagacious enough to catch the so-called *Zeitgeist*. For they are following a general trend in international affairs, absolutely supporting the American cause since there is no other way by which Japan can become vigorous and independent. In other words, they are reconciled to their fate. This is, of course, the traditional attitude of the Japanese people, whose nature it is to submit to irresistible conditions as to the typhoon. It was this attitude which enabled the Japanese to accept the occupation as an irresistible political fact. And this is why General MacArthur found the Japanese so subservient to their lords and masters. But in this case it would be difficult to say which party was most to blame: the superior, the Occupation, or the inferior, the Occupied.

In much the same way the Japanese people may be said to have drifted by force of destiny from the beginning to the end of the last war without exerting their own will. Even after the peace treaty is signed, as during the occupation, they will be carried along by the tide of destiny. Is this, then, the inevitable lot of the Japanese? Where there is no freedom of opinion and speech, there is no democracy; and where fear and hunger exist, there is no freedom of speech and opinion. This is the reason why economic independence is so essential.

But in what position is Japan standing at present? Let me recall the history of Judah. In ancient times Judah lay between two powerful countries, Syria in the north, Egypt in the south. Oppressed by overwhelming powers on both sides, Judah finally perished as a state. Japan's situation today is not unlike that of Judah in ancient times. In these circumstances, Japan longs for real independence, but before achieving that desire, it now longs for the help and support of the stronger nation.

KIZO KANO was for twenty-five years editor of the Nishi Nippon Press, of which he is now editor emeritus.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS and the ARTS

What Does Russia Offer?

RUSSIA'S SOVIET ECONOMY. By Harry Schwartz. Prentice-Hall. $6.65.

THE Iron Curtain, no doubt, prevents Russians from knowing much about the West except what is not true, but it does not prevent Western experts from knowing the essential facts about Russia. Harry Schwartz is a scholar who has devoted years of study to the Russian economy. To call his report a textbook is scarcely fair, because the clarity of its writing makes it superior to most volumes read only by those compelled to do so in order to qualify for a degree. Nevertheless it was written to inform, not to attack or to defend.

The author begins by surveying the resources of the broad Soviet Union, its riches and deficiencies. A chapter on the historical background of the revolution is followed by one on the ideological equipment of its leaders—an equipment that had to be drastically revised to suit the new situation. Marxist orthodoxy is evidently emphasized by Soviet leaders in proportion to their departure from Marx. There follows a series of chapters on economic development since 1919—the main achievements, the planning system, the organization and performance of industry, agriculture, transportation and communication, trade, housing, consumer services, and finance. The position of labor is described, and the conduct of foreign economic relations is outlined.

Any such study suggests answers to the puzzles of those confused by the internal contradictions of current propaganda. Why should anyone fear the power of a regime said to be weak in production because of socialist mistakes and bureaucratic inefficiency? If the Soviet peoples are universally oppressed and spied upon, how could their loyalty withstand a war? Why should a system sustained only by deceit, conspiratorial seizure of power, and failure to fulfil its promises make a dangerous appeal to great masses throughout the world?

In fact there is little appeal to peoples of nations like the United States and Britain, which are industrially advanced and democratically experienced. Only tiny minorities in the stronger Western democracies want their countries to be governed like Soviet Russia, and few of the governments are in the slightest danger of conspiratorial overthrow. But two-thirds of the people of the world live in still underdeveloped regions, and Russia is the most dramatic recent example of rapid industrialization of an underdeveloped region. Their experience and their hopes make them a prey to penetration by a movement which has exhibited the competence, political and economic, to organize agrarian and industrial revolution, to proclaim a minimum of discrimination among races and nationalities, and to hold at bay "capitalist imperialism" in alliance with native feudalism—a combination with which the people are only too familiar in poverty-stricken lands.

These observations are not Mr. Schwartz's, but they are prompted by any fair description of the Russian economy. Soviet Russia has carried on industrialization at an extremely rapid pace, especially in the heavy industries. Official figures, because of technical defects in the price index, probably overstate the rise in the national income, but the most careful estimates do not dispute that there has been great advance in industrial capacity. Whether it has been any more rapid than that which occurred in the United States after 1867 for the same number of years is doubtful. There is no doubt that Russian consumers have not benefited to anything like the same extent as did Americans, because the emphasis in Russia has been on military preparation. The Russian agrarian revolution dispossessed private landlords, organized larger production than could be obtained from small proprietorships, and fed a rapidly growing urban population.

Others tempted to follow the Soviet example should ask themselves whether the results in both city and country are worth the tremendous costs incurred in loss of life, suffering, absence of personal freedom, deprivation of material and psychic welfare.

The record also gives rise to crucial questions for Western policy. Neither the Russians nor their satellites would be so likely to endure the costs of Communist rule if they thought the goals they seek could be obtained by less rigorous methods. Do we have as clear and convincing a program to offer them? Does our behavior arouse the requisite faith? The Communist justification of hardship on the ground that it is necessary to defend the revolution against aggressors is widely believed. Does our foreign policy, coupled with extracts that Communist propaganda can daily cull from our newspapers, radio commentators, the *Congressional Record et al.*, tend to confirm or to undermine that charge? Widespread lack of knowledge in the United States of what the Soviet Union has to offer has led too few Americans even to ask themselves these questions. A cogent defense of our foreign policy is possible, but its obvious failure to win friends in important quarters suggests that something is lacking.

GEORGE SOULE

Malraux's Great Trilogy

THE TWILIGHT OF THE ABSOLUTE. By André Malraux (Volume III of "The Psychology of Art"). Translated by Stuart Gilbert. Pantheon Books: the Bollingen Series XXIV. $12.50.

WITH the sustained brilliance that marked "The Museum without Walls" and "The Creative Act" (reviewed in *The Nation* for May 27, 1950) Malraux has brought to completion his tripartite apostrophe of the visual arts. As before, the major outline is rather hazy, and a later edition would be improved by an addition of titles for the several chapters and by a reshuffling of the order of the contents. In fact, this volume contains three separate essays which are designated as complementary to sections in the earlier volumes. This amorphous structure is chiefly responsible for considerable repetitiousness in phrase and idea which a more scrupulous writer would have avoided. Nevertheless, with all its faults Malraux's work

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

remains the most profound estimate yet to appear of the whole vast range of the history of art. Since an unlimited knowledge of this subject is exclusively a twentieth-century possibility but one which few besides Malraux are able to encompass, the importance of his trilogy would be difficult to exaggerate.

However Wagnerian or Spengleresque the title of the present volume may seem, the content is nothing of the sort. There is a terrible tragedy, Malraux agrees, in the loss of absolute faith, which has, until now, always given the artist his assurance of social understanding, if not his very point of departure. But for the first time in history, in any full sense, this very decline of faith has made it possble for artists—living no matter when and where—to be understood as artists, rather than as persons caught up in a prevailing attitude. Here the three appended essays admirably serve Malraux's purpose: The detailed and wonderfully persuasive accounts of how Georges de la Tour, apparently a follower of Caravaggio, radically transformed Caravaggio's art; how the nameless designers of Celtic coins—their art now made accessible by photographic enlargements—evolved a strikingly modern calligraphy, one attuned, for example, to the recent work of the German painter Fritz Winter; and how the tide of history submerged the potential effect of a kind of sixth-century Masaccio, the master of the apse mosaic of SS. Cosmas and Damian in Rome. These essays, like that on Tintoretto and El Greco in the second volume, are among the most extraordinary parts of this great trilogy.

The absence of a particular faith, Malraux believes, opens up the possibility of a common understanding between men of all times and places.

It was only when at last the link was broken which, by way of a communion (not a birthright), across centuries whose "history" was mere synopsis or chronology, had united men to Mother Earth as to the Hero, to Venus as to Christ—it was only when this link was broken that the supreme value of art as something existing in and for itself was first glimpsed, then boldly proclaimed.

and

Our awareness of destiny, as profound as that of the Orientals but covering a far vaster field of reference, stands in the same relation to the various "fates" of the past as does a modern museum to the "Collections of Antiquities" of our forefathers; those wraithlike marble forms have given place to this Revelation of our century, the "Museum without Walls," and there is tentatively taking form, for the first time on earth, the concept of a worldwide humanism.

and

The truth is that our civilization, mighty as it is, differs from all preceding it—save the Greek—in not being affirmative. Like its sciences, it is interrogative; and our art, too, is becoming an interrogation of the world.

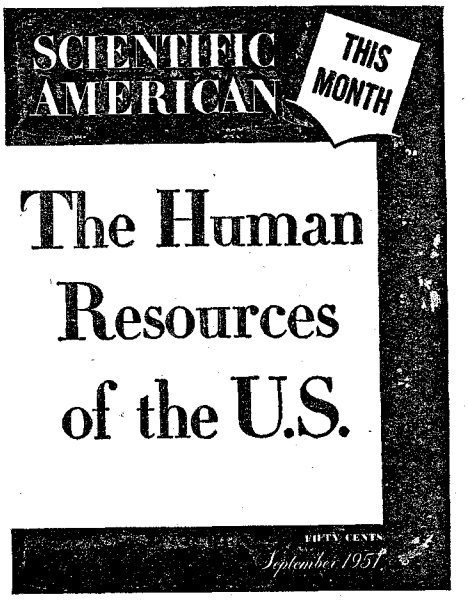
The final quotation offers a clue to the kind of affirmation Malraux champions. His is the most challenging answer I know to those who believe that a comprehension of art is possible without an understanding of the forms of the twentieth century. It is the whole difference between antiquarianism—a current form of pessimism—and the resilient sense of life which the arts can convey. Here enters Malraux's concept of our cultural resuscitations, which pervades the whole volume as a sort of Leitmotiv:

This first worldwide art culture, which is bound to transform modern art (by which until now it was given its lead), is not an invasion, but one of the crowning conquests of the West. Whether we like it or not, the West will light its path only by the torch it carries, even if it burns its hands, and what that torch is seeking to throw light on is everything that can enhance the power of Man.

Rome welcomed in her Pantheon the gods of the defeated.

The parenthetical phrase in the above quotation is of highest importance. Modern art has always pointed the way to these resuscitations, particularly in the direction of primitive and archaic art. If the results have seemed antihumanistic to the Old Guard of culture, a more inclusive humanism has unexpectedly replaced the Greek-dominated anthropomorphism, which alone has been respectable in Western culture since the Renaissance.

English readers owe a considerable debt to Stuart Gilbert for the translation of this monumental work. On the whole it is admirable, although occasionally marred by too close an approximation to the original text. Somehow "ce qui" gets properly absorbed in the rhythm of a French sentence, whereas "that which," constantly repeated, becomes a metric obstacle. "And" and "for"



The Editors of SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN are privileged to announce publication of a special issue devoted wholly to an assay of our country's most precious resources—its people and its brainpower.

The rising demand in our economy for intellectually trained and able personnel now raises a serious question of supply: "Can our population continue to produce enough people with the specialized abilities necessary to staff and administer our complex society?"

Able investigators in many fields have assembled a wealth of information that will play a decisive part in the plans of industry and in many areas of public policy from strategy in foreign affairs to secondary education.

For every responsible citizen, this extraordinary issue should provide an authoritative foundation for a realistic understanding of his own place and that of 150,000,000 U. S. citizens among two and one-half billion members of the human race at this epoch in world history.

In anticipation of the widespread demand for this important issue of SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN, a limited number of extra copies are being made available for new subscribers who share a responsible concern in the advance and use of scientific knowledge. You are invited to accept this invitation to receive SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN for the next nine months at the special introductory rate of only $3, saving you $1.50 from the single-copy price (ten months for cash with order). The September Human Resources issue will be sent to you at once.

SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN 24 West 40th St., New York 18, N. Y.

Sirs:

Please enter my subscription at the special rate of 9 months for $3, starting with the September Human Resources issue.

☐ Payment enclosed* ☐ Bill me later

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone_____ State_____

Business Connection_____

*Save us billing costs by sending payment now and receive an extra issue free. N-91

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

make awkward beginnings to English sentences, and several "its" in the same sentence, without benefit of enclitics or of distinctions of gender, can produce grammatical chaos (page 56, third paragraph).

Fortunately, the editors have provided an exhaustive index to all three volumes, which will make them more serviceable than heretofore. This is particularly true in view of the brilliance of Malraux's detailed and often parenthetical observations. Without an index they would be irretrievable.

The illustrations are abundant and of magnificent quality. Taken merely as a collection of images, the three volumes provide a superb compendium of the history of art, far more stimulating and informative than what is provided in the usual surveys. Like Roger Fry, Malraux cuts through traditional estimates to discover the artist. One is sufficiently persuaded that the living force of art survives all catastrophes and overcomes all taboos—and all academies.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

WHO INSPIRED LINCOLN TO ABOLISH SLAVERY?

Early in life Abraham Lincoln was tremendously influenced by the writings of Thomas Paine—particularly his essay advocating the abolition of slavery. Lincoln constantly sought inspiration in Paine's works. He said: "I never tire of reading Paine." Let Paine do for you what he did for Lincoln!

FREE "THE AGE OF REASON"
By Thomas Paine

Write for your copy of Paine's *masterwork, 190 pages;* complete and unexpurgated. Sent to you free, as part of an educational campaign . . . but please add 10¢ to cover postage and handling.

THE THOMAS PAINE FOUNDATION
Dept. N9, 370 W. 35th St., New York 1, N. Y.

JUST RECEIVED — VOLS. 4 & 5, 2nd Ed.
Available Now! Vols. 1 through 5

GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPEDIA

Deluxe printing and binding. Profusely illustrated with color plates and maps. In Russian

This new enlarged edition will consist of 50 volumes. The Collegium of Editors and contributors includes leading personalities in Soviet Arts, Literature and Science.

Regular Price — $9.50 per Volume
OUR SUBSCRIPTION OFFER—$8 per Vol.

Subscribers will be billed for each volume as delivered. We urge immediate subscription as the supply will be limited.

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
Importers from the USSR
55 W. 56 St., N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

Fall Book Number

- Reviews of the more important books of the season will be featured by THE NATION in its regular Fall Book Number to appear on Oct. 13.
- Publishers wishing to utilize the special advantages offered by this feature issue for advertising of better books are urged to make space reservations as soon as possible.
- For information on space reservations, copy deadline and rates, phone BArclay 7-1066, or write to

***The* NATION**
Advertising Department
20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

"Most People Are Other People"

THE LIMIT. By Ada Leverson. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.

ADA LEVERSON—she was Oscar Wilde's "Dear Sphinx" and a literary hostess of the nineties and after—published six novels between 1908 and 1916. Although they have recently been reprinted in England, "The Limit" is the first to appear here.

It is the work of a gifted amateur who had some difficulty turning her brilliant vignettes of the Edwardian *haut monde* into fiction. There are several loose ends to a plot important because on its resolution depend the total comic effect of the novel and the fulfilment of a serious though never weighty purpose. For the last chapters of "The Limit," like the last scenes of "The Way of the World," begin to explore feelings hitherto touched on lightly.

She is more amusing than Saki, for she never strains tiresomely after brightness; her wit does not date. "The Limit" is not a period piece, though it recreates an actual, vanished, fashionable society. It is a bright picture of the world Henry Green shows us in collapse in "Nothing." Ennui is the malady it most fears. Everyone is either rich or has at least an income sufficient to incur frivolous debts. The chief characters are all young or in early middle age. Their only mild revolt is against the Victorian conventions represented by a few survivors of the sedate eighties. Their preoccupations are love-making—not passion—well-bred intrigue, and gossip.

Ada Leverson does two things very well. In her leisured society relations between individuals have an importance which they have not had—money and time lacking—since. Her procession of at-homes, intimate conversations, and week-ends in the country—how she delighted in them and in writing about them!—is designed to record the emotional complexities and the subtle shifts in feeling within a small group of pleasantly idle men and women. At the end, quite wonderfully and without violating the tone of the rest of the book, real if inarticulate feeling arises to dissipate the potential adultery which is the center of her plot.

More important are the natural high spirits out of which she wrote, high spirits which have almost disappeared from English and American fiction, Joyce Cary and Henry Green, in their various ways, excepted. They color all this luxury and fashion. At the same time she penetrated her surfaces:

> It is hardly too much to say that most domestic tragedies are caused by the feminine intuition of men and the want of it in women.

Her heart is good; the unforgivable sins are lack of real feeling and any attempt to use others for one's own ends. Her moderately engaging villain comes a cropper because of them. "It is an infallible sign of the second-rate in nature and intellect to make use of everything and every one." The "second-rate" implies first an exercise in taste and then a moral judgment. At the crisis of her plot she remarks, commonsensically, on the damage which literature may do those who conduct their lives by it:

> It never even occurred to him to try to act as the husband ought to act, or as by the incessant insidious influence of plays and novels most of us have been brought up to think he ought to act. Most people are far more guided than they know in their views of life by the artificial conventions of the theater and of literature, or by tradition. In fact, most people are other people.

"The Limit" is always lucid; what depths it has are real. And it is more amusing and has more substance than the large and hollow profundities decked out as fiction that have come my way this summer.

ERNEST JONES

Books in Brief

JOURNEY WITH GENIUS. By Witter Bynner. John Day Company. $4. Any first hand information about D. H. Lawrence is important, even if it only confirms what we already know. Witter Bynner's record of the trip he and the Lawrences took to Mexico in the spring of 1923—out of it came "The Plumed

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Serpent"—does not alter the existing composite picture which one can assemble from the recollections of Frieda Lawrence, Mabel Dodge, Dorothy Brett, Catherine Carswell, and others. He makes it clear, however, that from the beginning of their association he, at least, was certain that Frieda was exactly the kind of wife her husband needed. Mr. Bynner's general tone has already been denounced by the idolators as petty and malicious. Actually this part of "Journey with Genius" is a history, as veracious as such histories can be, of day-to-day meetings and of the fluctuations of his own feelings and judgments; the occasionally exacerbated emotions of 1923 are recorded now in fair tranquility. The second half of the book, an explication of Lawrence and his views, is a mosaic of familiar matter from his writings and from books about him. This summing up, though it has its moments of vision, is often so apocalyptically presented that it affords only fitful illumination.

WHITE MAN RETURNS. By Agnes Newton Keith. Atlantic-Little, Brown. $4. The author of "Land Below the Wind" and "Three Came Home" describes the return of the Keith family to North Borneo after their war-time imprisonment and their recuperation in Canada. A chatty, readable story of tropical domesticity; of servants, neighbors, natives, and the difficulties of daily life in a colony still suffering from the after effects of the war.

Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

"LACE ON HER PETTICOAT" (Booth Theater) is an English comedy-drama by one Aimee Stuart whose many previous plays are better known in London than in New York. Herman Shumlin has given it a remarkably finished production with a largely English cast and he has got for his pains a shrug of the shoulders from most of the reviewers. A new dramatic season, they said, really ought to begin dramatically and with a bang. But of course it usually doesn't and we have seen duller plays than this one. If—as seems highly improbable—you are interested in knowing what happened when the pre-adolescent daughter of a Scotch marquis made friends with the daughter of one of his tenants then perhaps "Lace on Her Petticoat" is your dish. Personally we did not find ourselves much concerned.

On the second night when I saw the piece the audience was considerably warmer than that and if I were Mr. Shumlin I think I should decide that this was one of those rather rare occasions when somewhat less than tepid notices are not necessarily a death warrant. Sometimes plays which are too English for America turn out to be just what a lot of Americans want—"Autumn Crocus" for example—and this may just possibly be one of them. It is not that, by any stretch of the imagination, the piece could be called "great" or "important" or even "original." It depends a good deal upon local color, Scotch dialect, and the quaintness of simple people. It is unblushingly theatrical in method though genuine in feeling and, in the main outline of its action, convincing. The literary tradition in which it belongs is as different as the life with which it deals from the stridency of Broadway. But that does not necessarily mean that there are not a good many who will find it a minor refreshment.

Escaped from her dragon of a Fraulein, the young marchioness discovers her soul-mate in a cottager's daughter, gets by telegraph the blessing of her mother, and for a time it looks as though class distinction were an insubstantial shadow. Presently, however, the good intentions on both sides prove insufficient to avoid a clash between goodwill and the unyielding framework of a society. The mother steps in, cuts the connection between the two, and they will henceforth lead their different lives sadder and wiser because they have learned the ways of the world.

Had this play been written fifty years ago—and there is little in the manner and not such a very great deal in the matter to prove that it wasn't—the emphasis would have been only a little different. Perhaps the sympathy of the author would have been a little less obviously on the side of those forces which are breaking down the distinctions be-

FREE EXAMINATION OFFER

on the famous Manchester Guardian

YOU ARE INVITED to read the next four issues of the *Manchester Guardian*, weekly air edition, at our risk. This famous publication brings you a fresh viewpoint on British and international affairs—especially on the confusing questions of Korea, East vs. West, and the internal situation in England today. The *Guardian* is fearless, honest, liberal. It will stimulate your thinking as it does for the great opinion makers throughout the world who read it regularly. Accept this Free Examination Offer by mailing the coupon with your payment today. Money back if not delighted. *Manchester Guardian*, 53 East 51st St., New York 22.

"The *Guardian* is far more important than its circulation indicates . . . it is known and read throughout the world." (*N. Y. Times.*) "Unquestionably, one of the world's half-dozen great newspapers." (*Time Magazine.*)

MAIL COUPON FOR SPECIAL FREE OFFER

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN N 6
53 East 51st Street, New York 22, N. Y.

Please enter my subscription to the *Manchester Guardian*, Weekly Air Edition, as checked below. If not satisfied after seeing the first four issues, I may cancel and get a full refund. My payment is enclosed.

☐ 1 year, $6.50 ☐ 20 weeks, $2

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone_____ State_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tween classes. Perhaps the moral would have been "thus it probably has to be" rather than "there is not really any unchangeable reason why it could not be otherwise"; but that would have made rather less difference than one might assume. As the play stands it is still gentle and wistful rather than dogmatic or indignant. And the moral of that probably is that there is a strong streak of conservatism even in revolutionary England.

If the present performance achieves considerable humor and charm without, certainly, being very exciting, that is probably in considerable part because direction and acting alike are very sure in style and pace. Languidly played it would be intolerably dull. Jazzed up in an effort to make it more "significant" it would have been irritating. As it actually exists it furnishes a very pleasant interlude. Perlita Neilson as the young noblewoman and Neva Patterson as her humble friend could hardly be better but there are no weak spots in the cast and they all work perfectly together.

Correction

In last week's issue a passage in a review by A. J. P. Taylor of "In Defense of the National Interest" was badly garbled. The passage should have read as follows:

"Peaceful competition" between the two systems is a favorite Soviet slogan. If we had any faith in democracy we should take them at their word; but without illusions the competition would be fierce.

Buy Your Books through THE Nation

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price postfree if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

Films

MANNY FARBER

THE design of "Force of Arms" is rather simple-minded. This World War II tear-jerker starts off with Bill Holden fighting in the trenches behind some lush mountains, and then, with hardly more than a transitional line of dialogue, comes to a loquacious love scene between Sergeant Holden and WAC Lieutenant Nancy Olson, the girl he bumps into one midnight during a jaunt through a military cemetery. Thereafter, this structure repeats and repeats—a bit of war, a bit of love—to form the checkerboard cast up by script-writer Orin Jennings, whose cinematic naiveté is matched only by his idealism. In his version of the Italian campaign, there is a jeep waiting within elbow-reach of any infantryman worth his fighting weight; and beatific romance, Errol Flynn heroics, and brotherly affection geyser up like Old Faithful.

The sergeant-hero is a sensitive, moody, kindly one-man army who does the thinking for his platoon, writes letters to the parents of deceased buddies, plays poppa to the drunks, throws strikes with hand grenades, and looks frequently off into the cloudcast mountains while murmuring that it's going to be tough tonight for some poor doggies somewhere. (There are some very frightening battlefront clips from Huston's San Pietro, sandwiched in with pictures that always seem to be slanted to give a glamorous impression of combat. When a soldier is hit, he always goes into a graceful half gainer; slotted carefully into every composition is a glistening olive tree freshly dipped in black syrup for poetic imagery.) Holden's sweetheart is even more noble, highminded, wholesome, and intellectual, although she does seem singularly addicted to battlefront romances. When the sergeant first meets her, in the potter's field of a Flanders Field designed by some Grant Wood disciple, she is laying a wreath on the grave of her last boy-friend. She rejects Holden's first rather interestingly truculent advances in a manner becoming to an officer and gentlewoman—an obstacle the film expediently and disappointingly hurdles in the very next sequence by having Holden hustled off to see General Mark Clark and receive a battlefield promotion to second looie. (Nice shot of Clark; ingenious montage trick by the special-effects people.) All succeeding problems are handled in the same nimble fashion, which means you can stop worrying about the plot and concentrate on the items of greater interest: the flashy, schmaltzy vigor injected by Director Michael Curtiz, who showed in "Casablanca" that he knew a movie had to move and that its players should bounce against each other democratically; the Cézanne-like sculptural realism of cameraman Ted McCord, an artist whose atmospherically accurate work I am forced to admire in spite of my distaste for the self-conscious; and especially the gifted acting of the team of Holden and Olson.

This ladies' magazine facsimile of "Farewell to Arms" is really a startling, intimate show-window displaying the talents of two unheralded young dramatic dynamos: the girl with more subtleties than Hollywood has seen in several decades and the guy with more controlled and potent American grace than it may have ever seen before. Miss Olson fills the slightest requirement for a change of mood with a compacted intensity of technical razzle-dazzle and the astuteness of an actress who is about 150 points smarter on the Binet scale than the 4-H character she is portraying. One begins to realize presently that she is editing the role as she goes along—and the idea also begins to dawn on you that this flat-eyed starlet is a diamond-hard sophisticate, full of hidden crossness, the icy ambition of a Hepburn, and the determination to play a traditionally pure and lofty role in such a way as to reveal the sterility, stubbornness, and rigidity of the middle-class American heroine. Her most powerful weapon here is her voice—a flexible carillon that pierces into a scene like a knife and cuts it into a frame for her words. Like that vocal magician, Mercedes McCambridge—who came up the hard way, through radio—Olson can wind her voice into an ambiguous composition of ferocious, haunting, demanding elements that captures the ear and refuses to relinquish it until the moment has been milked dry. Holden does the same thing in a different manner—disclosing the self-righteous stupidity of the awkward, charming Jimmy Stewart type of hero,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

but doing it less intricately, less pretentiously than his co-star. He's at his best when laying it on thickest, as when he asks a sentry the way to town, takes in the answer, and then spins off in the opposite direction. Or when he pouts viciously because his light o' love has caught him with his defenses down.

There are other ingratiating or interesting things: a good, driving trio playing "Ain't She Sweet?" in the Mamma Mia dive; a pragmatic WAC major, so obviously intended as the one ugly note in an otherwise optimistic film that she stands out like a Turpin fan on Lenox Avenue; the two usual Bronx-Brooklyn comic riflemen who this time put across a certain smutty aroma of both homosexuality and the real thing; and a furloughed officer (Frank Lovejoy) who, having picked up a girl without much front, darts a hopeful backward glance at her behind. But there's also a tidal wave of tedious bright talk, including all sorts of visually unproved references to the beggared peasantry, Hershey-bar prostitution, and the glories of Italian architecture. "Can you hear my heart beat?" Olson asks during one typically gabby embrace, and Holden, who is forever answering such difficult questions, replies: "I thought it was mine."

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

THE volume of Hanslick's articles that I discussed last week contains the review of Wagner's concert described by Ernest Newman; and we discover that in it "Wagner is recognized as a brilliant conductor," and "his spirited reading of the 'Eroica,' with its fine, individual nuances, was, on the whole, a real pleasure." We discover also that Hanslick finds it necessary to insist that this was not the first good performance Vienna has heard of the "Eroica"—in contradiction of Wagner's contention in his essay on conducting (presumably echoed by the fanatical Wagnerians) "that our conductors have no idea of tempo and that the Beethoven we have learned to know through public performances is a 'pure chimera'." And so he points out that Wagner's principle of frequent modification of tempo works out successfully in the

WHERE DO YOU WANT TO GO?

France? Brazil? West Indies? Hawaii? Canada? Round the World?

Have you discovered the secret of lower cost travel?
Read what the Christian Science Monitor says about a new way to travel that sometimes costs 1/3 to 1/2 less.

By the travel editor of The Christian Science Monitor: Many fascinating travel booklets pass over this desk in the course of a year but the one that arrived the other day so interested this department that it cost the office several hours of work in order that we might absorb its content. The booklet is entitled, "Travel Routes Around the World" and is the traveler's directory to passenger-carrying freighters and liners. In no time at all you find yourself far out to sea cruising along under tropical skies without a care in the world. You find yourself docking at strange ports and taking land tours to those places you long have read about. Most interesting of the vast listings of ships are the freighters which carry a limited number of passengers in quarters comparable to the luxury offered in the so-called big cruise ships which devote most of their space for passengers.

The booklet first of all answers the question: What is a freighter? The modern freighter, says the booklet, ranks with the de luxe passenger vessels so far as comforts and accommodations are concerned.

LARGE ROOMS WITH BEDS

It is important to realize that in most cases today, freighter passengers are considered first-class passengers, although the rates charged are generally on a par with either cabin or tourist class fares. Most cabin-carrying freighters, to quote the booklet, have their private bath and shower, and these cabins offer beds, not bunks. The rooms are generally larger than equivalent accommodations aboard passenger ships, and the cabin of a modern freighter is sometimes even twice as large as first-class cabins on some of the older passenger ships. It goes without saying that your room is on the outside, and amidships, the most expensive of all locations, for which you are usually charged a premium over the advertised minimum fares on passenger ships.

The freighter, as most of us know, plods along at half the speed of a passenger ship and goes into off-the-beaten-path ports. These two features alone are what has made freighter travel popular—the leisure of the voyage and the unexpected places one visits.

This booklet points out that it is frequently astonishing how low freighter fares are as compared with passenger ship fares; for example, less than one-half of the passenger ship fare to California is the amount asked on freighters. On most of the longer runs, the difference in favor of the freighters is regularly from a third to half of the passenger ship fare.

SERVICE AND MEALS RATED EXCELLENT

Service and meals on a freighter leave little to be desired. You will be treated with consideration. Stewards will go out of their way to make your voyage pleasant. On ships with East Indian stewards you will be waited on almost hand and foot, in a manner that is completely unknown to Americans and most Europeans.

Foreign ships offer their own specialties, says the booklet. Thus vessels in the East Indian trade serve Rijkstafel (or King's Table), the East Indian dish which can run to as many as 50 different courses. Scandinavian ships serve smorgasbord every day, and some of their desserts (like strawberries smothered in a huge bowl of whipped cream) are never forgotten. Another feature of freighter travel is in its informality. No formal clothes are needed. Sport clothes are enough.

Other valuable information such as how to tip, shipboard activities, and costs are covered in the booklet, "Travel Routes Around the World."

Some of the trips listed include a trip to England for $160, a 12-day Caribbean cruise for $240, or a leisurely three-month Mediterranean voyage for $500.

The booklet is published by Harian Publications, Greenlawn, New York, and may be obtained by sending to the publisher.

So, when it arrives all you need to do is sit down and take your choice. The booklet lists literally hundreds of ocean trips.

****

$1 sends you this up-to-date guide plus two other guides:

1. **EUROPE ON A SHOESTRING. What to see and how to see it at lowest possible cost. 50,000 words.**
2. **LANDS IN THE SUN. Where to stay a while—even retire—in the West Indies, Mexico, Guatemala, and other lands to the south where the dollar buys so much more.**

To get your copies, simply fill in coupon below and mail today with $1 bill to Harian Publications, 3 Franklin Blvd., Greenlawn, New York.

To HARIAN PUBLICATIONS, 3 Franklin Blvd., Greenlawn (Long Island), New York.

I have enclosed a $1 bill. Please send me TRAVEL ROUTES AROUND THE WORLD, EUROPE ON A SHOESTRING, and LANDS IN THE SUN.

(Please Print)
NAME_____

STREET ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ STATE_____

☐ Check here if you want special $2 offer, which includes the three books listed above plus THE SEAFARER'S TRAVEL FOR FUN KIT. This kit includes three publications which tell you all about choosing a cabin, which radio to take, etc. It answers the hundreds of questions which every traveler wants to ask about ships and the sea. Travelers say it helps double their fun. Just check the box and mail two $1 bills.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

final variation movement of the "Eroica," that "the Funeral March was beautiful, particularly the gradual dying away of the main theme," but that the "conspicuously slower" tempo of the so-called second theme in the first movement, after the very fast beginning, diverted "the 'heroic' character of the symphony toward the sentimental." And he observes in conclusion:

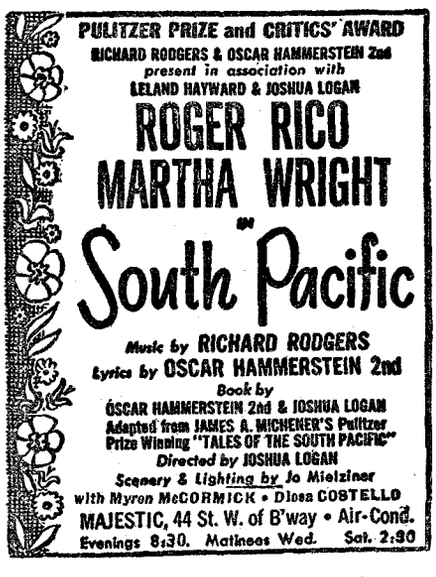
> Wagner approaches conducting as he approaches composition. What suits his individuality and his utterly exceptional talent must be accepted as the one and only universal, true, and exclusively authorized artistic law. From his highly personal poetic-graphic-musical endowment he evolved a new theory of opera which has led him to brilliant and original accomplishments, to compositions whose imaginative sincerity is their own accreditation, and which are effective because they are Wagnerian. But not satisfied with that, he denounces all other opera styles as "colossal errors," overlooking the fact that his own, in the hands of any other composer, would be only a caricature. If all other opera composers were to write in the style of "Tristan und Isolde," we listeners should inevitably wind up in the madhouse; and if Wagner's "tempo modifications" were to gain general ascendancy in our orchestras, then conductors, fiddlers, and wind players would soon be our companions in lunacy.

If there is any "fatuity and malice" it would appear to be not in the comments of Hanslick but in their misrepresentation by Newman.

Now this is not the first instance of such malpractice by Newman; nor was the business about Boccherini's quintets last week the only thing of its kind in Einstein's writings. In fact, the extraordinary and important thing one discovers about these renowned scholars and their formidable products—and at this point I remember to include Barzun and his "Berlioz"—is that their elaborate and rigorous documentation at one point or in one book seems to make them feel privileged to speak elsewhere without any documentation, or without rigor in their documentation, and without regard for the facts which contradict them; and that the documented portions confer their authority and authenticity on the products of pure invention or scholarly malpractice. And one reason why this is important is that most of us, as I said last week, are in no position to detect it; and that includes most of the writers who have the task of informing the public about these books. The result, in fact, is that the general public almost never reads a genuine and adequate review of them. The performances, instead, range from Barzun's amusing single statement, in a *Harper's* book column, that he can only marvel at the scholarship and handsome format of Einstein's great monograph on the madrigal, to the lengthier evasions of a Taubman filling a *Times* review of Einstein's recent "Schubert" with statement after statement about its scholarship and deep comprehension and so on, or of a Winthrop Sargeant automatically describing Einstein's "Music in the Romantic Era" as "a heavily documented, scholarly study" and getting on with the writing of his own piece on romanticism, though he is equipped to perceive at the very least what was reported to me by someone who read the book—that it is as undocumented as Einstein's other books for the general public.

And as a matter of fact there are usually some things in these books which even a person with only the critic's presumed familiarity with music should be able to perceive and report. Someone who hasn't done the digging into the material on Boccherini that Charles B. Farrell happens to have done will not be able to detect the inaccuracy of Einstein's statements about Boccherini's quintets; but anyone who knows Mozart's Quintet K.515 is in a position to see that Einstein's characteristic comment, that the minuet movement "is more of a *tempo di minuetto*, with a Trio in the subdominant, which itself grows into complete song-form," is about everything except what is important in that extraordinary movement; and anyone familiar with the last movement of Beethoven's Quartet Opus 130, and the last movement of Schubert's posthumous Sonata in B flat is in a position to see that Einstein's assertion of their relation is—like most of his endless twitterings about derivations of one piece of music from another—nonsense.

But since the general public never reads anything like that in the reviews of books like Einstein's, the writer who does point it out runs into trouble. Faced with a painstaking demonstration that Einstein's way of writing "informally" for the general public is to write not merely, as he says, without formal documentation, but without even informal regard for factual evidence; or that Barzun's "Berlioz" is the product not only of scholarship but of fluent invention, and that its scholarship is not above selective quotation of a supporting sentence out of its contradicting context—faced with a demonstration of such shocking things the unprepared public is shocked, but so shocked and so confused about what it is shocked by, that in the end the shocking thing is not what Einstein or Barzun has done but the demonstration that he has done it. The public doesn't wonder whether personal friendship has influenced Roger Sessions's praise of Einstein's "Mozart," but it does wonder what personal grievance has led Haggin to cite such damning evidence in dispraise of this book or of Barzun's "Berlioz," and would find it difficult to believe that no personal grievance was involved—that what caused Haggin to cite those damning details was their presence in the book.


PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD
RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN
ROGER RICO
MARTHA WRIGHT
in
South Pacific
Music by RICHARD RODGERS
Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
Adapted from JAMES A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer
Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"
Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner
with Myron McCORMICK • Diosa COSTELLO
MAJESTIC, 44 St. W. of B'way • Air-Cond.
Evenings 8:30. Matinees Wed. Sat. 2:30

CONTRIBUTORS

GEORGE SOULE, on the staff of Bennington College, is the author of "Introduction to Economic Science" and other books.

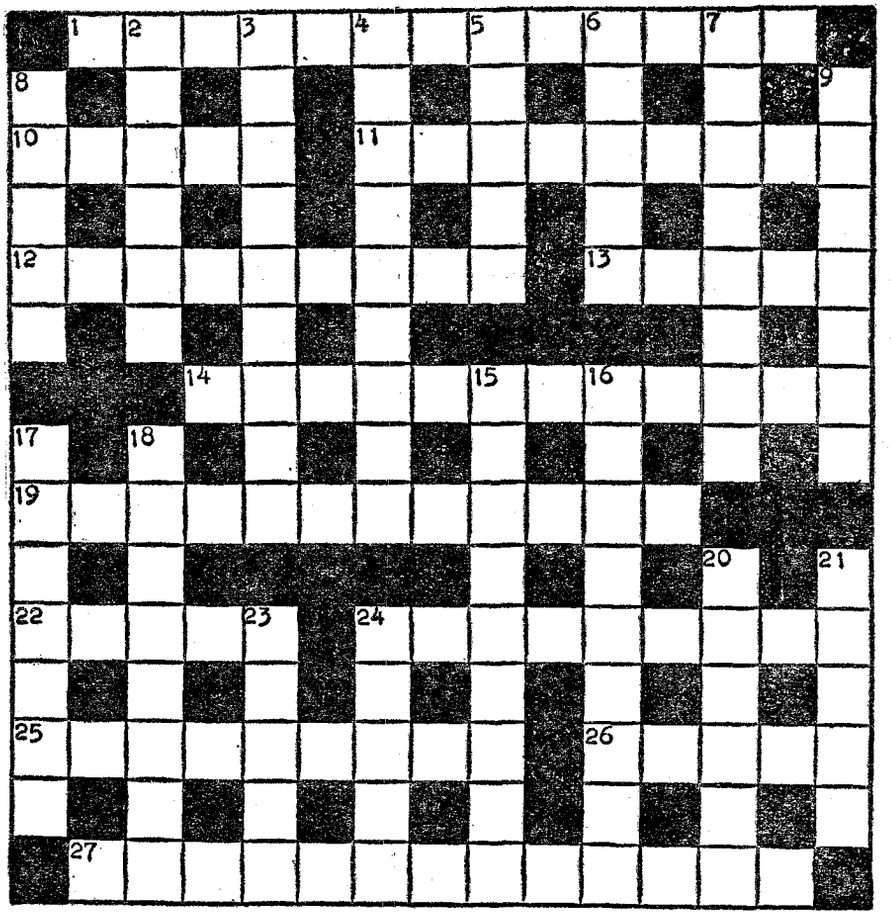
S. LANE FAISON, JR., chairman of the Art Department of Williams College, has just returned to this country after a year as director of the central art-collecting point at Munich.

ERNEST JONES is a member of the English Department at Queens College.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 430

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Fruit vessel, but not trim aft. (5, 8)
10 For those who believe variety is the spice of wife? (5)
11 A sort of big lie about the wrong measure. (9)
12 In favor of the proposal before the assembly? (9)
13 Scandinavian, formerly a confused gentleman from Iberia. (5)
14 Displayed in photographic contests? (4, 8)
19 Bob-tailed nag of French contention, no longer in the running. (4, 2, 6)
22 Complains bitterly against bars. (5)
24 Waved. (9)
25 Responsible for making a nursery-rhyme parlor. (9)
26 Men are, when they woo, according to *As You Like It*. (5)
27 Are they flipped away on a fishing trip? (5, 3, 5)

DOWN

2 We might be the first with 20. (6)
3 Caricatured at Harvard? (9)
4 A railing on the platform? (9)
5 The middle of any long piece of material, perhaps. (5)
6 This part might have bars for the feet (unless it's a hand or mouth). (5)
7 Left like a tightly muzzled dog? (8)
8 Out-of-phase contour. (5)
9 What a back-slider does, with all his faults. (7)
15 With the Legion medal taken away? (9)
16 A mixture of metal and Spanish water is found in this country. (9)
17 See 24.
18 Shows skill, if a dessert? Naturally not! (8)
20 See 2 down. (6)
21 You've got your notice last month, old man! (5)
23 Council. (5)
24 and 17. Take heart, armies! A queen emerges! (5, 7)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 429

ACROSS:—1 INTONATION; 6 ACHE; 10 and 26 A PIG IN A POKE; 11 LIFE NET; 12 BEDECKED; 13 HESSE; 15 CASTE; 17 EN PASSANT; 19 NAVIGATES; 21 ALDEN; 23 ULCER; 24 INHABITS; 27 RUBELLA; 28 SOPRANO; 29 DEEP; 30 DEPENDENCE.

DOWN:—2 and 9 TOILERS OF THE SEA; 3 NOISE; 4 TRACK MEET; 5 OILED; 7 CANASTA; 8 ENTREATING; 16 ENGIRDLE; 18 POSTHASTE; 20 VOCABLE; 22 DETRAIN; 24, 1 down; 14 I CAME, I SAW, I CONQUERED; 25 BIPED.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

RESORTS

50 MI. FROM NEW YORK

MAMANASCO Lake Lodge
RIDGEFIELD, CONN.
Phone 6-7000
A beautiful country estate converted into a delightful retreat for vacations and weekends. All outdoor activities. Mile-long lake. Tennis. Golf nearby. Informal, congenial atmosphere. Television, recordings. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Moderate rates.

WINDY HILL
ON ORANGE LAKE
A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Books, Records, Ping-pong, a two-mile lake for boating, fishing, swimming. Food of excellent quality in generous quantity. Rate: $45 weekly, $7.50 daily.
65 Miles From N. Y. C.
JANE C. ARENZ, R. D. No. 1, Walden, N. Y.
Phone: Newburgh 115 W 2

Colorful! Gay! Exciting!
THAT'S INDIAN SUMMER AT THE GLENMERE!
famed horseback riding!
the Glenmere
Chester, N. Y. in the beautiful Ramapos
Phones: CHester 2151 — N. Y.: REcter 2-5047

50 MILES TO FOREST HOUSE
Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings, Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes, All sports.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. MAhopac 8-3449

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee, $5.00.

PUBLISHING SERVICE

AUTHORS! Sales Department available for your short stories, articles, books and plays. Free booklet, write today! Mead Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 16 (OR 9-1150).

WE print, publish and distribute your non-fiction or fiction manuscript in pamphlet or book form. *Send for free folder.* WILLIAM-FREDERICK PRESS, 313 West 35th St., New York 1, N. Y.

PERSONALS

exit loneliness

Somewhere there is someone you would like to know. Somewhere there is someone who would like to know you. We can help you find a richer, happier life through discreet, dignified 'social introductions.' *Write for booklet, or phone*
MAY RICHARDSON
Dept. TN, 111 West 72 Street
New York City EN 2-2033

• Advertising Rates •

CLASSIFIED
74¢ a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum

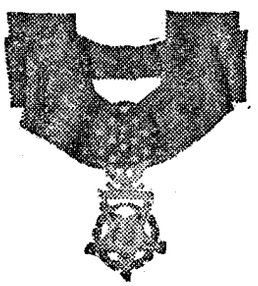
CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch (minimum)
Remittance must accompany all orders

The NATION
Twenty Vesey Street
New York 7, New York
BArclay 7-1066

Printed in the U. S. A. by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Medal of Honor



Sergeant Charles Turner, of Boston, Massachusetts—Medal of Honor, Korea. On September 1, 1950, near Yongsan, Korea, Sergeant Turner took over an exposed turret machine gun on a tank. Despite fifty direct hits on the tank, he stayed by his gun and destroyed seven enemy machine gun nests before he was killed.

You and your family are more secure today because of what Charles Turner did for you.

Sergeant Turner died to keep America free. Won't you see that America *stays* the land of peace and promise for which he gave his life? Defending the things he fought for is *your* job, too.

One important defense job you can do *right now* is to buy United States Defense* Bonds and buy them regularly. For it's your Defense Bonds that help keep America strong *within*. And out of America's inner strength can come power that guarantees security—for your country, for your family, for *you*.

Remember that when you're buying bonds for national defense, you're also building a personal reserve of cash savings. Remember, too, that if you don't save *regularly*, you generally don't save at all. Money you take home usually is money spent. So sign up today in the Payroll Savings Plan where you work, or the Bond-A-Month Plan where you bank. For your country's security, and your own, buy U. S. Defense Bonds now!

*U.S. Savings Bonds are Defense Bonds - Buy them regularly!

The U. S. Government does not pay for this advertisement. It is donated by this publication in cooperation with the Advertising Council and the Magazine Publishers of America as a public service.

Charles C. Sherrod Library
TENNESSEE STATE
Johnson City, Tenn.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED